## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-25** 

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-20

NSC-07 ACDA-19 DODE-00 CU-04 OIC-04 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /125 W  $\,$ 

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O R 141144Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3216

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

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DEPARTMENT PASS TO SECRETARY

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, US, UK, UR, FR, GW, WB

SUBJECT: CSCE AND GERMAN QUESTIONS: BONN GROUP STUDY:

AN EXPLANATION

REF: BONN 09467

- 1. WE ARE TRANSMITTING IN REFTEL THE ENVISAGED BONN GROUP STUDY ON CSCE AND GERMAN AND BERLIN-RELATED PROBLEMS, ALONG WITH A DRAFT PAPER FOR POSSIBLE APPROVAL BY MINISTERS AT THE QUADRIPARTITE DINNER IN OTTAWA JUNE 18.
- 2. THE STUDY WAS COMPLETED ONLY LATE JUNE 13. WHILE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FRG, FRENCH AND US REPS TOOK FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ON

COVERING THE TWO KEY ELEMENTS IN THE PAPER (I.E., PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS AND PROTECTION OF QUADRI-PARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES), UK REPS WERE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS ONLY TO DISCUSS LATTER TOPIC AND THAT ONLY IN TERMS OF A DISCLAIMER. AS A RESULT OF MUCH TUGGING AND HAULING, UK SIDE WAS FINALLY BROUGHT AROUND TO OTHER THREE ALLIES' POSITION, BUT WE WOULD NOT DISCOUNT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SLIPPAGE BETWEEN NOW AND THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING SET FOR JUNE 18 IN OTTAWA.

- 3. THE BASIC UK PROBLEM APPEARS TO BE THAT LONDON FEELS THE CSCE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA SHOULD BE THE ONES TO CONCERN THEMSELVES PRIMARILY WITH THE FRONTIERS ISSUE AS WELL AS WITH THE WORDING OF PRINCIPLE 10 (FULFILLMENT IN GOOD FAITH OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW). THE BRITISH FCO IS APPARENTLY OF THE VIEW THAT A SIMPLE DISCLAIMER BY THE THREE ALLIES AT THE END OF STAGE TWO OF THE CSCE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO PROTECT ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. FRENCH, FRG AND US REPS DISSENTED STRONGLY FROM THIS VIEW, HENCE THE THRUST OF PART C OF THE BONN GROUP STUDY WHICH FAVORS GETTING PROTECTIVE WORDING INTO PRINCIPLE TEN ITSELF.
- 4. FOLLOWING IS AN EXPLANATION OF THE FEW BRACKETED SECTIONS OF THE STUDY:

(A) PART C. GERMAN BRACKETS IN FIFTH PARAGRAPH. FRG REP (BLECH) ARGUED HEATEDLY AGAINST ANY REFERENCE TO THE PHRASE "OR WHICH CONCERN THEM". HE SAID THIS LEFT THE DOOR OPEN FOR ALL SORTS OF POTENTIAL SOVIET/EE INTERFERENCE IN FRG AFFAIRS. FRENCH AND US REPS SAID THIS PHRASE SEEMED TO US IMPORTANT FOR IT SERVED TO PROTECT ALL THE AGREEMENTS, ARRANGEMENTS AND PRACTICES CONFIDENTIAL.

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IN THE GERMANY/BERLIN CONTEXT TO WHICH NEITHER GERMAN STATE HAD BEEN A PARTY. UK REPS WERE SOMEWHAT NON-COMMITTAL ON THIS POINT, ALTHOUGH THEY TENDED TOWARD FRANCO-US VIEW. WE EXPECT FRG REPS TO CONTINUE TO PUT UP STIFF OPPOSITION TO THIS FORMULA IN OTTAWA. OUR VIEW FROM HERE IS THAT THIS FORMULA "OR WHICH CONCERN THEM" IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO PROTECT OUR POSITION, AND RECOMMEND HOLDING OUT HARD FOR ITS RETENTION.

(B) PART C, LAST PARAGRAPH. UK BRACKETED LANGUAGE AGAIN REPRESENTS THE FEELING THAT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN ADVISING GENEVA AS TO FUTURE WORK ON PRINCIPLE TEN. THE BRITISH ALSO CONSIDER THAT THE

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO SECRETARY.

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O R 141144Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA

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DISCLAIMER IDEA SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED ONLY AS A FALL BACK POSITION BUT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A VIABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PRESERVING QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

5. WHILE DISCUSSION OF THE WORDING OF A DISCLAIMER WAS LIMITED BECAUSE OF SHORTAGE OF TIME, THE UK SIDE DID

PRESENT A DRAFT WHICH THE BONN GROUP AGREED TO CONSIDER ONCE THE LINE FROM THE QUADRIPARTITE DINNER WAS SET DOWN. THE WORDING OF THE UK DRAFT DISCLAIMER IS FORWARDED FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION. BEGIN TEXT. I WISH TO REFER TO THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION DURING STAGE I ON 28 SEPTEMBER 1973, WITH WHICH THE BRITISH AND US DELEGATIONS ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES, AND TO REPEAT THE VIEW OF MY GOVERNMENT THAT THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THIS CONFERENCE CONFIDENTIAL

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CANNOT AND DOES NOT IN ANY WAY AFFECT THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS OR THE CORRESPONDING RELATED QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS, DECISIONS AND PRACTICES REFERRED TO IN THE QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION OF 9 NOVEMBER 1972. END TEXT. HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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To: STATE

Type: TE

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